
Sir Walter Raleigh's
HISTORY
of the Reigne of
William the First.



TAM MARTI, QUAM MERCURIO.



The true Effigies of y^e Hon^{ble} s^r Walter Rawleigh K^t
F. H. van. Hove. sculp.

An Introduction to a
B R E V I A R T
O F T H E
History of England
With the
R E I G N
O F
King William the I.
Entitled the
CONQUEROR.

Written by Sir WALTER RALEIGH, Kt
and Dedicated to the then Earl of Salisbury.

The Second EDITION.

L O N D O N,
Printed by J. Stephens for JOHN PENN
in Westminster-Hall, D. BROWNE at
Temple Bar, and W. MEADOWS in
Cornhill. 1728.

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THE
PREFACE
OF THE
PUBLISHER.

T HIS *Life of William the Conqueror Writ by Sir Walter Raleigh* was found in the Library of a Person of High Quality. Whosoever hath been conversant in the Works of that accomplished Knight, and a little acquainted with his great Genius and Spirit, and his manly and unaffected Stile, will make no doubt, but what
here

The Preface

here is presented unto the World was his genuine Issue.

For the Comprehensive and Penetrating thoughts, the lively imagination, and the mature and exact Judgment of Sir Walter Raleigh, do all manifestly appear in this small Treatise.

It may be matter of some wonder, that a Work filled with such a number of judicious Reflections upon the Nature of Government in General, and so many Wise Observations relating to the particular State of our own Country should have been thus long condemn'd to obscurity, had not an ill fate attended the learned Compositions, as well as the brave Actions of this renowned Gentleman.

But by what unhappy Accident soever it hath been hitherto confined to Privacy, it was thought it would be an injury



of the Publisher.

injury to the publique any longer to
conceal a just and true Account of the
Reign of William the First, wherein
so many remarkable matters, and great
Revolutions happened, and to which
the Writers of Government and Po-
licy in our Nation have very frequent
recourse;

Since the Transactions of that
Time, unto which they so commonly
appeal, are here related with that
faithfullness, brevity, and clearness,
that become an Exact Historian.

IMPRIMATUR.

December 31

1692:

EDM. BOHN N.



(1)

A

B R E V I A R Y

OF THE

History of E N G L A N D ;

Beginning at the R E I G N of

W I L L I A M the I.

Entitled the Conquerour.

The Introduction.

§ 1. **I** Intend by the Help of
God, and your further-
ance (Right Noble Earl
of *Salisbury*) to write a
Brief History of *England*, from *Wil-*
liam I. entitled the Conqueror, to
B the

the End of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* of perpetual Memory : A Work difficult, as well for the Antiquity, as the Lateliness of things done ; the one bereaving our Knowledge of the certain Counsels held in the managing of Businesses so long past; the other not allowing our Understanding the inward, and particular Motives of such Actions, as are so near us. Yet according to my Collections out of those antient Remains that are left unto the World, and the Conferences, Acts, and Instruments of latter Times, I will deliver the Succession, and course of our Affairs, in so much as shall be fit for the publick Understanding, without passion, or partiality ; endeavouring to be of no other side ; then of Truth,



Trinth, as it shall appear to my Apprehension.

§ 2. And though I had a Desire to have deduced this History from the Beginning of our first Kings, as they are delivered in their Catalogue; yet finding their Actions uncertainly delivered, and the Beginning of all eminent States to be as uncertain, as the Heads of great Rivers, and that idle Antiquity, discovering no Apparent Way beyond their Times, have ever delighted to point Men out into imaginary Tracts of Fictions, and monstrous Originalls; I did put off that Desire with this Consideration, that this space of five hundred years, which the Government of twenty Kings, and two Sovereign Queens, was more than enough for my

and Ability ; weighing withal ,
that it is but our Curiosity to look
further back into the Times past,
than we can well discern, and
wherof we can neither have Proof
nor Profit. Besides, it seemeth
that God in his Providence hath
bounded our Searches within the
Compass of a few Ages, as if the
same were sufficient, both for
Example, and Instruction in the
Government of Men : For had
we the particular Occurrents of
all Nations, and all Ages, it might
be more stuff, but not better our
Understanding. We shall find the
same Correspondencies to hold in
the Actions of Men ; Vertues
and Vices the same ; though ris-
ing and falling according to the
Worth, or Weakness of Govern-

nors

nors ; the Causes of the Ruins, and Changes of Commonwealths to be alike, and the Train of Affairs carried by the Precedent in a Course of Succession under like Figures.

§ 3. But yet, for that this Chain of Affairs hath a link of Dependency to the former Times, it shall not be amiss, briefly to repeat the three Mutations in the State foregoing this last Conquest, since the Time that Letters and Christianity were here received, which left more certain Knowledge of Things done, though not in that sort, as we can assuredly learn, either the Form of the Brittish Government under their Kings, or by what Rule, they held together ; whether their Petty

Princes (whereof they had many) were subject to one Monarch, or all Sovereign alike; whether any parties did Cantonize, or were free Estates, or Common-wealths, as peradventure they might be, as well as the Gaules, with whom they were one in Language, or the Germans, antient Precedents of like Liberties. For no doubt, the same Necessity that is the Mother of Society, and Contriver of Mens Defences, and Safeties, finds out like Forms of Government, in like times, upon like Occasions. But insomuch, as is delivered in these uncertain Antiquities, we find, this Isle was never, or never long subject to one srentire Monarch, but ruled by divers Kings.

§ 4. And so *Cæsar* found it; and thereby

thereby found the easier Means to subdue it; which was the first Dissolution of the State, after it had remained under the Government of the Brittons (as say our Stories) one thousand and sixty years, from *Brutus* to *Cassibalan*. And yet the State then seem'd by this Conquest, to lose little, besides their Savage Liberty, being reduced to a Civil Subjection; For the Vanquisher sought not to extirpate the Nation, but to maintain and improve it. And under this Government it remained almost five hundred years, until the Division of the *Roman* Empire in the time of *Theodosius*; when it became neglected, and recovered again the State of a Kingdome under Princes partly Brittish, and partly Romans;

mans, which by reason of continual Tumults and Mutinies, seemed never to have held any, calm or flourishing Government worthy the observing; and in the end *Vor-*

* *Cornwall. Bede I.* *tigern* an Earl of the
14. * *Guiffes*, abusing the

Weakness of *Constantius* supplanted him, and obtained the Kingdom: which the better to keep against *Aurelius* and *Pendragon*, the Sons of *Constantius*, and also to oppose against the Invasion of the Picts and Scots he called in the Saxons to his Aid.

§ 5. Who entering this Land under the Conduct of *Hengist* and *Horfus*, gave the occasion of the second, and indeed the most absolute Dissolution of the State. For *Vortigern*, to establish the Kingdom in his own Line, and (as
he

he thought to strengthen himself with these Strangers, took to Wife * *Renix*, the daughter of *Hengist*, (his own Wife living :) and by his dotage on her, being a beautiful Lady, who knew to take the advantage of his love, gave the Saxons those Preferments in the State, as the Brittons, neglected by him, soon became a prey unto them : This Alliance, and the Fertility of the Land, letting in so many of this populous, and Warlike Nation, that e're Men scarce perceived their danger, they were undone : And notwithstanding the Combination of the British Nobility, with the deposing of *Vortigern*, and Electing King his Son *Vortimer*, a valiant Prince, who gave them
many

many stout Battles ; yet could they not prevail against the Saxons thus established, but were forced to quit their Country, and betake themselves to remote Mountains, and Deserts, leaving All to the Invaders ; Who after many Fortunes, dividing the Land into seven Kingdomes, extinguished both the Religion, Language, and even the Name thereof. And in this Heptarchy it continued, till *Egbert*, K. of the *West-Saxons*, An. 828. being three hundred fifty years after their Entrance, subduing the other Kings, obtained the whole Dominion to himself ; And to raze out the Memory of a Division Caused by an Edict the whole Kingdome to be called *England*, of the Angles, a people, that possess the middle

middle part of this Island.

§ 6. But neither he, nor his Successors quietly enjoyed it : For the Danes, having been first called in to aid the King of Northumberland against the other Kings, sorely infested the Land ; and combining themselves with the Welch, and Scots prevailed so much, that from the reign of King *Britric*, Anno 387. they continued to afflict the same the space of two hundred fifty five years ; and in the End by the negligent, and ill Government of King *Ethelred*, whose Luxury, and Oppression had made way for Division, they got the absolute Dominion of the Kingdom, and held it twenty six years by three of their Kings successively, *Cannutus* governed it twenty years and

and left it to *Harold* who raigned two years. *Canutus* the second succeeded his Brother *Harold*, and at a Banquet at *Lambeth*, either by Surfeit or Poison died in the Second year of his Reign: When streight the People of the Land, by a sudden and general Massacre, redeemed themselves from that odious Yoke of a Foreign Subjection, which was held to be the Third Dissolution of this State. But I cannot see, how it should be so accounted, seeing that this *Canutus*, never altered the Government; but embraced the same Religion, maintained the Laws he found, and added many Constitutions for the good of the Kingdom. And to get into the People's affections, he married

Emma

Emma, sometimes Wife to King *Ethelred*, and daughter to *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*; to whom for his better strength, he had likewise given his Sister to Wife: And then the short Time of the Government in the Succession of his two Sons seems not to have bred any great Alteration in the State of the Kingdom; but onely in the Change of the person of the Prince, and the preferment of his Nation before ours; which, by reason of the long foregoing wars, were made incompatible of each other.

§ 7. But yet this gave the Cause to that great, and last Mutation of State, effected by the Norman. For King *Etheldred*, to make his party good against the Invasion of the

the Danes, combined himself with *Richard Duke of Normandy*, married his Sister *Emma*, and by her had Issue, *Edward* after King of *England*, intituled *the Confessor*; who with his Brother were there brought up out of the dangers of the Wars, and by the assistance of the Duke reconveyed over, after the death of the last *Canutus*, and here invested in the Kingdom. For which Offices of Kindness divers Preferments were in way of Gratification, bestowed on the Normans; as the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, and other especial Places and Dignities Ecclesiastical, in a manner throughout the whole Land; which prepared an easier passage for the Invasion following; when the death of this good King

King *Edward* without Issue to inherit, left the Succession doubtful, or else by the Iniquity of times made it seem so. For *Edgar* surnamed *Atheling*, sonne of *Edward* the Son of King *Edmond Ironside*, had his Claim neglected; Either in respect of his Youth, which yet was no Barr to his Right? or for want of Means, and power to oppose against the ambition of others; who having swaied the Fortune of the time, under an easie-natured Prince, had Opportunity enough to work for themselves: Although the Worthiness of his Grandfather, shewed in the Defence of his Country, might seem to deserve to have his Issue remembered in their Right.

§ 8. But the Earl *Godwin*, what
in

in respect, that King Edward had matched with his Daughter, and what with his own Greatness, and popularity, having long managed the State of the Kingdom, made the Ascent easie for Harold his Son to get up to the Crown, and by Crossing the right Line of Succession, called up Destruction, and Misery, both upon his own Race, and the whole Kingdom, For though Harold had a shew of Title, as being the Son of *Githa* sister to *Swain. Dan.* of *Thira*, sister to *Canutus* King of England; yet seeing all the Land had received an Oath upon the Massacre, and expulsion of the Danes, never to have any King of that Nation to reign over them, it might seem no lawful Claim. But yet the Fa

your of the people, which both his person, and Valour had gotten, with the Necessity of the Time that required a Man of Spirit, and Courage, to undertake the burden of war, and the Trouble, which the World (they saw) was like to grow into, cast it upon him, with hope to keep out the Misery of a foreign Subjection, and the Insolency of Strangers.

§ 8. But the whole Course of things being overcast and set for Storms, and Alteration, could not by any providence of Men be prevented. Though this new King (who is said to have crowned himself) used all the Means, that a wise, and valiant Prince could do, both for the well ordering of the State, and all provisions

visions for defence ; yet the disjointed Affections of Men , tending to their private Ends , and working several Wayes to get up to their Hopes, either left the Ship of the State, which contained them all , to the mercy of the Waves, and every Man cast to save himself , where the greatest likelihood of Mastery appeared ; or else distracted with the Terror of the approaching Mischief, failed in their Spirits, and courage to withstand it ; For the Diligence of Men becomes often dashed with their Fear in publick Tumults, and with the very Cogitation of the Evil to come.

§ 9. And the first Man which began to afflict his new Government , was his own younger Brother,

Brother, *Tosty*; who for a former conceived Hatred, was easily set on by the Duke of *Normandy*, and *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, (whose Daughter he had married) to assail the Isle of *Wight*, and to prepare the Way for the great After-work intended. And having done much Mischeif on the Coast of *Kent*, *Harold* with a strong Navy forced him to draw towards the North parts; where seeking to Land, he was repulsed by the Earls *Morcar*, and *Edwin*, and forced to look Aid of the Scots, and after of the King of *Norway*, whom he induced to invade this Kingdom with great store of Men, and Shipping. These landing at *Tinmouth*, and discomfit-

Touffain. D.

ing their first Encounterers, marched into the heart of *England* without Resistance. But being come near to *Stamford*, King *Harold* with a mighty army met them; and after long Fight, with the Loss of much Bloud, and his best Men, he finished that Action with the Death of *Tosty*, and the King of *Norway*.

§ 10. But from hence was he called with his wearied, and broken Forces to a more fatal Business in the South. For now *William* Duke of *Normandy*, pretending a Right, to the Crown of *England*, both by the Testament of the late King *Edward*, and also by Parentage; upon the Advantage of the Time, and the Disfurnishment of those parts, Landed at *Hastings*;

Hastings; Near to which Place was Fought that bloody Battle, wherein *Harold* Valiantly Fighting amidst his Enemies, Ended his Life, and Reign, which was scarce of one Year ; and the English, with the loss of 20000. Men, and the Flower of the Kingdom, became the miserable Prey of the *Normans*.

§ 11. But how so great a State as this, could be with one Blow subdued by so small a Province in such sort, as it could never after come to make any general Head against the Conqueror, may seem strange, and considerable : But the Circumstances, with the Disposition of that Time, as may be Collected from the Writers, that lived near it, may

somewhat, though not altogether satisfy us in that point. For they say, the People of the Kingdom were (by their being secure from their Foreign Enemies the Danes, and their long Peace which had held in a manner from the Death of *Edmond Ironside*, the space of fifty Years,) grown neglective of Arms, and generally debauched with Luxury and Idleness; The Clergy licentious, and only *Literaturâ tumultuariâ contenti, Scholæ, non vitæ discebant*, saith *Malmesbury*; the Nobility given to Gluttony, Venery, and Oppression; the Common sort to Drunkenness and all Disorder. And they say, that in the last Action of *Harold* at *Stamford*, the bravest Men perished: And himself growing

growing insolent after the Victory, retaining the Spoils without Distribution to the Souldiers, made them discontent, and unruly; Or peradventure being not inured to be Commanded by Martial Discipline, they were of themselves unmanageable; and that coming to the Battle of *Hastings* with many mercenary Men, and a discontented Army, there was not that Valour, and Resolution shewed, as was meet in so important an Occasion. Besides, the *Normans* had a peculiar Militia, or Fight with Bowes and Arrowes, wherein they were Excellently practised; and the *English*, unacquainted with that Weapon, were altogether unprovided for that Defence.

And thus they excuse the shame
of our Nation.

T H E
R E I G N
O F
W I L L I A M the I.

Anno I.

§ 12. **B**Y these Advantages
William, the base
Son of *Robert*, Duke of *Normandie*,
having gotten the Victory in the
Battle near *Hastings*, Marched
without any opposition towards
London : Where the Earls *Edwin*,
and *Morcar* Brothers of eminent
Dignity,

Dignity and Respect in the Kingdom, laboured with all their Power in soliciting the People for the Conservation of the State ; And to have Established *Edgar Etheling*, next of the Royal Issue in the Sovereignty, whereunto the rest of the Nobility had likewise consented, had they not seen the Bishops averse, or wavering. And all Men generally, transported with Fear, or corrupted with new Hopes, running from themselves, and their endanger'd Country, and striving who should be first to entertain the present Fortune, sought to preoccupate each other. For straight upon his Approach to *London* the Gates was set all open; the Archbishop of *Canterbury* *Stigand*,

Stigand with other Bishops, the Nobility, Magistrates, and People, all rendered themselves, and their Obedience unto him ; and he, returning plausible Promises of his future Government, was within a short Time after Crowned at *Westminster* by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York* ; for that *Stigand* was not held Canonically Invested in that See, and yet was thought to have been a principal Adherent to this Enterprize.

§ 13. Here (according to the accustomed Form) in his Coronation, the Bishops and Barons of the Realm took their Oath to be his true and Loyal Subjects ; and he reciprocally being required thereunto by the Archbishop of *York* made his personal Oath
before

before the *Altar* of Saint Peter to defend the holy *Church* of God and the Rectors of the same ; to govern the universal people subject unto him justly ; with care to establish equal Laws, for the preservation of Justice, and upright Judgment to be used amongst them ; and taking Hostages for his more Security, and Order for the Defence, and Government of his Kingdome.

§ 14. At the opening of the Spring then next following he returns into *Normandy* ; so to settle his Affairs there, as they might not distract him from his Business in *England*, which required his whole powers. And to leave all sure behind him, he committed the Rule of the Kingdom in
his

his Absence to *Odo*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, his half-Brother by the Motherside, and to his cozen *Fitz-Osborn*, whom he had made Earl of *Hereford* : taking with him the chieftest Men, Natives, of the State, who were likeliest to be Heads to a Revolt ; as the Archbishop *Stigand* lately discontented, *Edgar Atheling* a Titular, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, with many other Bishops and Noblemen. In his Absence, which was all that whole Summer, nothing was here attempted against him, but only that *Edric*, surnamed the Forrester, in the County of *Hereford*, called in the Kings of the Welch to his Aid, and Forraged onely the remote Borders of that Country. The rest of the Kingdome stood quiet, expecting

pecting what would become of that new World ; wherein, as yet, they found no great Alteration, their Lawes and Liberties remaining still the same, they did, and might hope by this Accession of a new Province, the State of *England* would be enlarged in Dominion abroad, and not impaired in profit at home ; by reason the *Nation* was but small, and being a plentiful, and not over-peopled Country they were not likely to impester them.

§ 15. The King now grown to this power, soon settled his Estate in *Normandy*, which in his Youth he had alwayes found turbulent within, and overhardly neighboured abroad, and secured him of that side of the World ; wherein

in he was much advantaged by the Time. For *Philip* the first, then King of *France*, was a Child; who otherwise would never have suffered the *Normans*, being so stubborn, and little affectionate to that Crown, to have grown to such Greatness; and besides, was under the Curature of *Baudouin* Earl of *Flanders*, (his Uncle by the Mother,) whose Daughter King *William* of *England* had to wife, which Alliance indeed gave him the greatest Means to his Conquest. Besides, he had made the Pope most sure unto him; by promising if hee subdued this Kingdome, to hold it of the Church; for which *Alexander* upon his enterprize sent him a *Banner*, and a *Hair* of Saint *Peter*. He held

held strict Amity also with the Princes of *France*, that bordered upon him, and might interrupt his Affairs; as with the Earls of *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Main*, *Ponthieu*, *Bologne*, and others; to every one of whom he had promised Lands in *England* upon their Aids lent him. And to keep fair with the State of *France* in general, he ingaged himself to their King to hold this Kingdome from him, and to do him homage for the same; by which means he so strongly undertook himself as made his Fortune such as it was.

§ 16. And now having disposed of his Affairs in *Normandy*; he returns towards Winter into *Ex-Bangland*?; Where he was to satisfy three sorts of men. First the especial

cial Adventurers in the Action; Secondly thole of his own People, whose Merits or Neareness deserved Recompence; whereof the Number being so great, many must have their Expectations Fed, though not satisfied; Thirdly the People of this Kingdom, by whom he must now subsist. For being not able with his own Nation so to People the same, as to defend it, if he should proceed to a general Extirpation of the Natural Inhabitants, he was likewise to give them Satisfaction: Wherein he had more to do than in his Battle at *Hastings*; seeing all Remunerations with discharge of Monies must be raised out of the Stock of the Kingdom, (which could not be pleasing

sing to the State in general.) And all Preferments, and Dignities conferred on his, must be either by Vacancies, or displacing others; which needs must breed very feeling Grievances in particular. And yet we find no great Men thrust out of their Rooms, but such as put themselves out, by their Revolting after his Establishment in the Crown.

§ 17. In the second *Anno 2.* Year of his Reign no Exaction was made to raise Treasure for these Satisfaction: so that it seems he contented himself, and his, for the time, only with what he found here ready; and with filling up, their Places, who were slain in these two last Battles, or fled, (as many were) out of the
D King-

Kingdom with the Sons of *Harold*. But the *English* Nobility, incompatible of these new Concurrents; found notwithstanding a Disproportion of Grace, and a darkning of their Dignities by the Interposition of so many, as must needs lessen their Light. And doubting daily to be more impaired in Honour, and Estate, all the Chiefest of them conspired, and fled; some into *Scotland*, some into *Denmark*, to try, if by Aid from abroad they might recover themselves, and their Greatness again at home.

§ 18. Amongst these the Chiefest was *Edgar Atheling*, (intitled *Englands Darling*, with shewed the Peoples Zeal to his Bloud; and with him (besides his Mother

Agatha

Agatha, and his two Sisters, Christine, and Margaret,) fled the Earls Edwin and Morcar, Marleswin, Hereward, Gospatric, and Siward, and shortly after Stigand, and Aldred, the two Arch-Bishops, with many other Noblemen, and divers of the Clergy. Those, that fled into Scotland, were all Hospitably received of King Malcolm; whom it concerned to look to his own, his Neighbour's House being thus on Fire; and to succour a Party against so dangerous an Incommer: Which made him not only to entertain them, but to enter League with them for the Publick safety. And to combine himself the more firmly, he Married Margaret, the Sister of Edgar, by whom the

Bloud of our antient Saxon Kings was conjoynd with the Norman in *Henry* the Second, and so became *English* again.

§ 19. These Noblemen, with the Aid of the Scots, and
Anno 3. Danes, in the third year of this King's Reign raised great Commotions in the North beyond *Humber*, and wrought very valiantly themselves to recover their lost Country. But now it being too late, and the Occasion not taken, before the settling of the Government, whilst it was new, and brandling, they prevailed nothing, but gave Advantage to the Conqueror to make himself more then he was, for all Conspiracies of Subjects, that succeeded not, advance the Sovereignty

And

And nothing gave Root to the Normans planting here more, then the petty Revolts made by scattered Troops in several parts, begun without Order, and weakly seconded without Resolution; whereas nothing could be done for the general Recovery, but by the general rising of the People, which seldom we see to happen. And for this the new King had taken good Order : First by disarming them ; then by forbidding them Assemblies, and all secret Intercourse upon heavy Penalties ; that every Man at the closing of the Day, by the Warning of a Bell, should cover his Fire, and go to bed ; by making them to be bound Pledges one for another, to answer for their O-

bedience and Loyalty ; by building divers Fortresses in several parts of the Kingdom , to awe the Country , and to hold them in , with many such like provisions.

§ 20. So that these Lords, though they did, as they might, hold him doing in the North, and imbroil themselves in an unsuccessful Businesse, yet he having all the South settled under his Power , with well practised, and prepared Forces , could not but needs tire and consume them in the end ; and in the mean Time invest the *Normans* in their Rooms , and possessions , forfeited by this Attempt : As the Earldom , and all the Lands, which *Edwin* held in *Yorkshire*,
were

were given to *Alanus* Earl of *Brittain*, his Nephew ; the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, conferred on *Lanfranc* an *Italian* ; That of *York* on *Thomas*, his Chaplain, a *Norman* ; and all the rest both of the Clergy, and others, which fled, and were out, had likewise their Places supplied by *Normans*.

§ 21. And now the King having appeased the Commotion in the West, where the Sons of *Harold* had landed with Forces out of *Ireland*, and *Wales*, and also repress the Rebellion of *Oxford*, he takes his Journey in Person Northward with all Expedition ; lest the Enemy there should grow too great in Heart, and Opinion, by the Defeat of

his Lieutenant with 700 Normans at *Durham*, and the great Slaughter of his People made at *York*. Where, at his first coming, he so wrought, as he corrupted the Generals of the *Danes* with Mony, and sent them well contented away; and then set upon the Army of the Earls, weakened both in Strength and Hope, by this Departure of their Confederates, and put them to Flight: Which done, he utterly wasted, and laid desolate all that goodly Country, between *York* and *Durham*, the space of Sixty Miles, that it might be no more a Succour to the Revolter. And the like Course he used on all the Coasts, where any certain Landings were known, thereby to prevent Invasions; and

so returned to *London* : where he seized into his Hands all the Plate, Jewels, and Treasure within all the Monasteries of *England* ; pretending that the Rebels , and their Assistants, had conveyed their Riches into these Religious Houses, as into Places Priviledged, and free from Seizure , to defraud him of it.

§ 22. Most of the Lords, after this great Defeat in the North , came in upon Publick Faith given them, and were conducted to *Barkamstead* by the Abbot *Frederick*. Where some write, that the King again took a personal Oath before the Archbishop *Lanfranc*, and the Lords, to observe the Antient Laws of the Realm Established by his Noble Pre-

Predecessors, the Kings of *England*; and especially those of Saint *Edward*: And all the Lords, upon their Oath, and submission, were then reconciled unto him, and thereupon held themselves quiet for a Time. But whether it were, that they found not their Entertainment such, as they expected; or that they had received Intelligence of new Hopes from abroad; or that *Edgar*, who was still in *Scotland*, had solicited them upon Promise of fresh Succours to aid him; or howsoever it was; many of them again Conspired, contrary to their Oaths, and went out. The Earl *Edwin*, making towards *Scotland*, was Murthered by his own People by the way. The Earls *Morcar*,
and

and *Hereward*, betook them to the Isle of *Ely* ; meaning to make good that Place for that Winter ; whither also came the Earl *Siward*, and the Bishop of *Durham* out of *Scotland*. But the King, who was no Time giver to growing Dangers, beset all the Isle with flat Boats on the East, and made a Bridge of a Mile long on the West, and safely brought in his People upon the Enemy ; who seeing themselves surpris'd, yielded them all to the King's Mercy ; Except *Hereward*, (a man of great Valour and Courage) who with his Souldiers made a Retreat through the *Fenns*, and Escaped into *Scotland*. The Rest were sent to divers Prisons, where they died,
or

or remayned during the King's Life.

§ 23. We find, that those Lords, who remained Loyal upon their last Submission, were all imployed, and well graced by the King : As *Edric the Forester*, that was the first Revolter in his Reign, was held in especial Favour, and Trust near about him ; *Gospatric* was made Earl of *Northumberland*, and sent against *Malcolm*, who in this time takes Advantage to subdue the Countries of *Tisdall*, *Cleveland*, and *Cumberland*. *Waltheof*, the Son of the Earl *Sinward*, he so highly Esteemed, as he Married him to his Niece *Judith* ; Though he were a Principal Actor in this last Commotion, and in the Defence

fence of the City of York against him, and is said, to have stricken off the Heads of divers *Normans* one by one, as they entred upon a Breach, to the great Admiration of all Men : By which Valour of his, he ransomed the Offence he had made, and grew to that great Grace with the King; who therein shewed a Noble, and Magnanimous Nature, to honour Vertue even in his Enemies.

§ 24. And now there rested nothing, for the general Quieting of the Kingdom, but only the Suppression of *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, the greatest Kindlesfire of all these Conspiracies in the North parts, and the only Refuge for all, that were discontented and
mutinous

mutinous in this State. Against him the King led such mighty Forces, both by Sea, and Land, as *Malcolm* rather than to adventure Battle, was content to make his Peace; and not only to give up Hostages for securing the same, but also to do him Homage for the Kingdom of Scotland. And so all his Home-Wars were
Anno 6. ended *Regni Anno 6.* Saving only in *Anno 15.* he levied a Puissant Army, and subdued *Wales*; which Business held him not long. For the Rest of his Government here, he had no more to do here with the Sword, though he had it always abroad during his whole Reign.

§ 25. Now for the Doubt, he might have of the great Men

of the Kingdom, who by Power, or Love were aptest to disturb his Government, it was in this sort taken away. First by the Submission of *Edgar Atheling*, who *Anno 7.* was restored into Grace, and had a fair Maintenance, which held him ever after quiet: Then by those, whom the Prisons kept from Attempting any more: And lastly by the Revealing of a new Conspiracy, contrived at a Marriage, between *Ralph de Waber* Earl of *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, and his new Kinswoman, the Sister of *Roger*, the Young Earl of *Hereford*: At which Solemnization in their Banquetting, and Jollity, the
two

Roger Fitz-Osborn the Son of William, Cousin and especial Councillor to the King.

two Earls *Normans*, with *Waltheof*, and divers *English*, Plotted to call in the *Danes* again, and to make away the King: Upon which Discovery, they were all apprehended (except the Earl of *Norfolk*, who fled the Land;) and died some in Prison, and some on the Scaffold.

§ 26. The *Danes* being on the Coasts with 200 Sail, hearing how their Confederates had sped, and the great Preparations the King had made, after some spoils taken on the Coast of *England*, and *Flanders*, returned home, and never after infested this Kingdom. Though in *Anno* 20 of this King, there was a great Rumour of their fresh Preparations for a new Invasion; which

which made him entertain a great number of Frenchmen, besides *Normans*, which he brought into *England* about Harvest, and held the most part of them all the Winter to the great Charge of the Kingdom. But it came to nothing; For the Wind held so long against the *Danish* Navy, consisting of about 1000 Sail, as it overthrew their intended Action, and freed both the King, and his Successors from future Fears that way for ever after.

§ 27 The Forein Wars he had, were all about his Dominions in *France*, and raised by his own Son *Robert*, whom he had left his Lieutenant Governour of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and the County of *Maine*. Where, by his

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Fathers

Fathers Absence, tasteing the Glory of Command, he grew to assume into his own Power the Sovereign Rule of the Province; caused the Barons there to do him Homage, as Duke, not as Lieutenant; and put himself wholly under the Protection of the King of *France*; who was not a little pleased, to apprehend so good an Occasion, to foster a Division, in the House of so great and near a Neighbour; who was now grown fearful, and dangerous, to all the Princes about him; and therefore spared for no Cost to set forward this Work. The King, understanding the Fire thus Kindled in his own House, whilst he laboured to quench that himself had made in Others;

Others ; hasts with his Forces into Normandy, to have surprised his Son. Who, advertised of his Coming, furnished with 2000. Men at Arms, by the King of France, put himself in Ambush, where his Father should pass, and set upon him so Fiercely, as he De-seited most of his People, and in the Preis happened to encounter with himself ; whom he unhor-sed, and wounded in the Arms with his Lance. But perceiving by his Voice it was his Father, he hasted to lift him up again to his Horse, craving most humble Pardon for his Offence, which the King seeing in what Case he was, easily granted, and received him into Grace, with whom, and with his Son William, (who

was likewise hurt in the Skirmish) he retired to *Roan*, and after being there cured of his Hurt, returned again into *England*.

§ 28. Where he was no sooner arrived, but he heard, that his Son was again Revolted, Treated the *Normans* ill, and renounced his Father's Sovereignty over that Province; which caused his little Stay in *England* for that time, but only to prepare for his Return into *Normandy*. Whither passing, he was by Tempest driven, on the Coast of *Spain*; and there is said to have Fought in Battle against the *Saracins*. Afterwards arriving at *Bourdeaux*, his Son *Robert* came, and submitted himself the second time; whom now he took with him into *England*, to
frame

frame him to a better Obedience, by imploying him herefor a Season ; and then sent him back again , with his Youngest Son *Harry*, (whom he more trusted) into *Normandy* ; where he held himself quiet a while , and gave his Father some small Breathing time to dispose of the Affairs of this Kingdom.

§ 29. But it was not long, e're new Occasions of greater Troubles grew up : which took by this means. The two Princes, *Robert*, and *Henry*, went to Visit and salute the King of *France* at *Conflans* ; where being feasted certain Days, upon an After-dinner , *Henry* wan so much at Chess of *Louis* the King's eldest Son, that he grew so far into Cho-

ler, as he called him the Son of a Bastard, and threw the Chesse in his Face. *Henry* takes up the Chess-board, and strook *Louis* with that Force, as he drew Bloud, and had killed him, had it not been for his Brother *Robert*, who came in in the mean time, and interposed himself; whereupon they suddainely took Horse, and with much ado saved themselves at *Pontoise* from the King's People, that pursued them.

§ 30. This Quarrel arising upon the intermeeting of these Princes, (which is a thing, that seldom breeds good Bloud amongst them) reinkindled a Heat of more Rancor in the Fathers, and set a mighty Fire between the two Kingdoms; which made the

the first War, the *English*, and *French* had together, whereupon followed many others. For presently the King of *France* complots again with *Robert*, enters into *Normandy*, and takes the City of *Vernon*. The King of *England* invades *France*, subdues the Countrey on *Xaintoign*, and *Poitou*, and returns to *Roan*; Where the third time his Son *Robert* is reconciled unto him; which much disappointeth, and vexeth the King of *France*. Who hereupon Summons the King of *England*, to come and do him Homage for the Kingdom of *England*: Which he refused to do; saying, that he held it of none, but of God, and his Sword: But yet offering to do him Homage, for the Dutchy

of Normandy, it would not satisfy the King of France; who was willing to make any Occasion the Motive to set upon him: And again he invaded his Territories; but with more loss than Profit. In the End they conclude a little unperfect Peace together; which held no longer, than King William had recovered a Sickness, whereinto by Reason of his Years, Travel, and Fatness, he was lately fallen. At which Time the King of France, (then Young, and Lusty) jesting at his great Belly, whereof he said he lay in at Roan; so irritated him, as being recovered, he gathered all his Forces, entred into France, in the Chiefest Time of their Fruits, and came even before

fore *Paris*; spoiling, and burning all in his way : Where with Heat and Toil, he fell into a Relapse, returned to *Roan*, and there made an End, *Anno 20.* of his Wars, and Life, after he had held this Kingdom twenty years and ten Months.

§ 31. Now concerning his Government in Peace, and the Course he held in Establishing the Kingdom thus gotten; first he examines the *English* Laws, which were then composed of *Merchenlage*, *Danelage*, and *West-saxlage*: Whereof some he abrogated, and some allowed, adding other of *Normandy*; especially such, as made for the Preservation of the Peace, which most imported him to look unto: And these

these Laws thus reformed he caused to be all Translated, and and Written into the *Norman Tongue*; hereby to draw the People of the Kingdom, to learn that Language for their own Need, that the two Nations might the better grow together and become one; seeing a difference of Speech would continue a difference of Affections. Wherein he attained not his Desire; nor ever was it in the Power of any Conquerour so to do, without the universal Extirpation of the Land-bred People: Who being so far in number (as they were) above the Invaders, both carry the main of the Language, and also in few Years, make them to become theirs, that subdued them

them. But yet upon these Laws thus Established by so prudent a Prince, this free, and Fierce Nation, was so well held in Peace, and Obedience, as his Successors, with some Abatement of Rigour, and Prerogative, have ever since continued a most Glorious Sovereignty over the same.

§ 32. And for that he would be well, and certainly supplied with Treasure, which his great Wars and Entertainments required, he took a most provident Course for reforming the *Fisque* or Exchequer, and the ordering, and raising of his Revenues; Endeavouring to make, and know the utmost of his Estate. And therefore he imployed a most discreet Choice of Men to survey the whole

whole Kingdom, and to take the Particulars of his own, and every Man's Ability, the quantity, and nature of Lands, and Possessions, with the Discriptions, Bounds, and Divisions of Shires, and Hundreds within the same. And this was drawn into one Book, and brought into his *Ærarium*, the Exchequer, (so called of the Table, whereat the Officers sate; before termed the *Talee*) and the same intituled *Doomesday-Book*. *Liber Judiciarius*, (saith *Gervasius*) the Judgement Book, that was to decide all Doubts concerning these Particulars.

§ 33. All the Forrests, and Chases throughout the Kingdom, he took into his proper Possession, and exempted them, from
being

being under any other Law, than his own Pleasure, to serve as *Penetralia Regnum*, the withdrawing Chambers of Kings, to recreate them after their serious Labours in the State ; where none might presume, to have to do , and where all Punishments, and Pardons of Delinquents were to be Disposed by himself absolutely, and the former Customes abrogated. And to make his Command the more, he encreased the Number of them in all parts of the Land ; and on the South-Coast dispeopled the Country for above thirty Miles space ; making of old inhabited Possessions a new Forrest ; Inflicting great Punishments for Hunting his Dear, whereby he much advanced his
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Revenue : which was the greatest Act of Concussion, and Tiranny, he committed in his Government. And the same Course held almost every King near the Conquest. For *Henry* the first proceeded with such Violence, as to make a Law, that if any Man killed the Kings Deer in his own Woods, he should forfeit his Woods to the King. But King *Stephen* having need of the Peoples Favour repealed that Law. And in the End this Grievance, amongst others, after much Bloodshed in the Kingdom was allayed by the Charter of Forrests, granted by *Henry* III. For other Possessions he permitted those, which held them before his Coming, to continue them quietly in the same maner, and took

took none, but from such, as after his Possession of the Crown, Rebelled against him, or were slain in the Wars.

§ 34. He imposed no new Taxations on the State, and used those he found very moderately : As *Danegelt* being a Tax raised by the former Kings, of two Shillings upon every Hide-Land, to maintain the Wars against the *Danes*, he would not have it made an Annual payment, but only taken upon urgent Occasion :

Gervasius.

And it was seldom gathered in his Time, or his Successors. *Scutagium*, or *Escuage*, which was also then an Imposition of Mony, upon every Knight's Fee (afterwards only employed for the Service in Scotland) was never Levied,

Levied, but in Like Occasions, for Stripends, and Donatives to Soldiers.

§ 35. Only one Exa^ction he he was forced to raise, to cure a Mischief; which arose by his Means. In the begining of this Reign, the Rancor of the *English* towards the New-come *Normans* was such, as finding them single in Woods, and remote Places, they secretly murthered them; and the Deed doers, for any the severest Courses taken, could never be discovered. Whereupon it was ordained, that the Hundred, wherein a *Norman* was found slain, and the Murther not taken, should be condemned to pay the King, some thirty-six pounds, and some twenty eight pounds, according to the Quantity

Quantity of the Hundred. And this was done to the End, the Punishment, being generally inflicted, it might particularly deter them, and hasten the Discovery of the Malefactor, by whom so many must otherwise be interested. This Mulct, and the seizing into his Hands the Church Treasure before-noted, (though both were done by the especial commanding Warrant of Necessity) were much taken to heart in the Kingdom, both by the Clergy, and Common People.

§ 36. And yet otherwise was he to both very gracious, and beneficial. For upon petition made unto him, he relieved the Oppression of such as were Tenants at will of their Lords, which were

a very great Number, and began after this manner. All those, who were discovered to have had a Hand in any Rebellion, and were pardoned, only to injoy the Benefit of Life, having all their Lively-hood taken from them, became Vassails unto those Lords, to whom the Possessions were given of all such Lands, as were forfeited by Attainders. And if by their diligent Service they could attain any Portion of Ground, they held it, but only so long, as it pleased their Lords, without having any Estate for themselves, or their Children; and were oftentimes miserably cast out upon the sudden, contrary to Promise, upon any small Displeasure. Whereupon it was
ordained,

ordained, that whatsoever they had obtained of their Lords by any obsequious Service, or agreed for upon any Lawful Pact, they should hold by an inviolable Law during their own Lives.

§ 37. And for the Clergy other than in this one Act, he maintained all their Immunities, and Priviledges, and they grew very much under him. But this (it seems) was the Cause, that made them so much disfigure his Worthiness, and leave his Memory in so black Colours to Posterity, as they did, in delineating his Tyranny, Rigor, and Oppression; when the Nature, and Necessary Disposition of his Affairs do much excuse him therein; and shew

that he was, a Prince of a most active Virtue ; whose Abilities of Nature were equal to his Undertakings of Fortune, as preordained for so great a Work. And though he might have some Advantage of the Time, wherein we often see Men prevail more by the Imbecilities of others, than their own Worth: Yet let those Times be well examined, his Strength and Eminency (if we take his just Measure,) where of an exceeding Proportion. Neither wanted he those Encounters and Concurrences of sufficient able Princes , his Neighbours, to put him to the Trial thereof ; having on one side the *French* to grapple withal, on the other the *Dane*, far mightier in People, and Shipping than

than himself, strongly sided in the Kingdom, as greedy to recover their former Footing here, as ever, and as well, or better prepared.

§ 38. But this name of Conquest (which ever imports Violence, and Misery) is of so harsh a sound, and so odious in nature, as a people subdued seldom gives the Conquerour his due, tho' never so worthy : And especially to a Stranger, whom only time must naturalize, and let in by degrees into their Liking and good Opinion : Wherein also this King was greatly advantaged by reason of his twenty years Government, which had much impaired the Memory of former Customs in the younger sort, and

well inured the elder to the present Usances and Form of State: Whereby the Rule was made more easy to his Sons, who tho' they were far inferiour to him in Worth, were a little better beloved then he; and the rather for that they were content somewhat to unwrest the Sovereignty from the Height, whereunto he had strained it; which brought the State to a better proportion of Harmony.

§ 39. Of those, who were the especial Men of Employment in his Reign, time has shut us out from the knowledge of many; it being in the Fortune of Kings, to have the Names, and Memory of their Counsellors (like Rivers in the Ocean) Buried in their Glory.

Glory. Yet these we find principally mentioned in Stories. First, *William Fitz-Osborne* Earl of *Hereford*, the especial Mover and Counselor of this Voiage of *England*; reported also to have furnished forty Ships at his own Charge for the Enterprize. *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and Earl of *Kent*, sometimes his Viceroy in *England*; and seems also to have managed the Finances; but of such excessive Avarice, that he gathered so much Treasure, as he went about to buy the Papacy; and attempting to go to *Rome* about the same, the King staid him at Home in a fair Prison; and excused the matter (upon Exclamation made) in this sort, that he only Imprisoned the Earl of *Kent*, not the

Bishop of Bayeux. Beside he had *Lanfranc*, a Man of universal Learning, and an excellent Lawyer, Born in *Lumbardy*, who peradventure might introduce something of the Constitutions of that Province, to the making up our Laws, which in many things seem to participate with theirs. And no doubt he had many others else : For being of a strong Constitution of Judgment, he could not but be strongly furnished in that kind ; seeing ever weak Princes, have weak Sides ; and our most renowned Kings have been best underfet with Counsel, and happily served with the ablest Officers.

§ 40. He had a fair issue by *Maud* his Wife ; Four Sons, and
Five

Five Daughters. To Robert his Eldest Son he left the Dutchy of Normandy ; to William the Kingdom of England ; and to Henry his Treasure , with an Annual Pension of 8000. pounds to be paid him by his two Brothers. Richard, that was his Second Son, Died in his Youth , of a surfeit taken by Hunting in the New Forrest , and began the fatal Misfortune, that followed, of that place, by the Death of King William the Second , there slain with an Arrow ; and of Richard the Son of Robert Duke of Normandy, that brake his Neck. His eldest Daughter Cicilia, became a Nun. Constance Married to the Earl of Brittain ; Adela to Stephen, Earle of Bloys , who likewise became

came a Nun in her Age : such was their great Devotion, and so much were these Solitary Retirements affected in those times, by the greatest Ladies. Another was Affianced to *Alfonfus* King of *Galicia* ; who with the other Sister promised to *Harold* , Died before Marriage.

§ 41. What he was in the Circle of himself, in his own continent, we find him of an even, or middle Stature , comely Personage, of good presence, Riding, Sitting, or Standing, till his Corpulency gathering upon him in his latter Age, made him somewhat unwieldy ; of so strong a Constitution , that he was never Sickly, till a few Months before his Death ; His Strength such, as few Men

Men could draw his Bow ; and being about Fifty One of his Age , when he subdued this Kingdom , it seems by his continual Actions , he felt not the Weight of Years upon him , till his last Year.

§ 42. His Mind was no less excellently composed , and we see it the fairest drawn in his Actions ; wherein his Mercy and Clemency (the brightest Stars in the Sphere of Majesty) appeared (next to his great Devotion) above all his other Virtues , by the often pardoning , and receiving into Grace those , who had forfeited their Loyalty , and most dangerously Rebelled against him : Seeming to hold Submission satisfactory for the greatest Offence ;

Offence ; and that he sought to extinguish Mens Eenterprises, but not themselves. For we find, but one great Nobleman executed in all his Reign ; and that was the Earl *Waltheof*, who had twice falsified his Faith before : And those, whom he had held Prisoners in *Normandy*, as the Earl *Morcar*, and *Siward*, with *Wolfe nothus*, the Brother of *Harold* and divers others, upon Compassion of their Endurance, he released, a little before his Death.

§ 43. Besides he was as far from Suspicion as from Cowardize ; and of that Confidence (an especial Note of his Magnanimity) has he gave *Edgar*, his Competitor in the Crown, the Liberty

Liberty of this Court ; and upon his suit, sent him well furnished to the Holy War ; where he so Nobly behaved himself, as he attained to great Estimation with the Emperours of *Greece*, and *Almain* : Which might have been held dangerous in respect of his Alliances that way, being Grand-Child to *Henry* the third Emperour. But these may be as well Virtues of the Time, as of Men ; and so the Age must have part of this Commendation.

F I N I S.

William the first. 77

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